

CIA HISTORICAL REVIEW PROGRAM  
RELEASE AS SANITIZED

AIR

HUL-A-983

2003  
~~SECRET~~  
PBSUCCESS/RYPAT

13 JUN 1954

Acting Chief of Station, Guatemala City  
LINCOLN

INFO: [ (HEGARTY)  
(WELLBANK)  
PBSUCCESS, Headquarters

KUGOWN  
SHERWOOD - 3 scripts

1. We are forwarding herewith copies of the following 3 scripts which either were already broadcast by SHERWOOD or are about to be broadcast in the next 2 or 3 days. As usual, these scripts are meant to keep you informed and to show you our present KUGOWN policy line, but must not be quoted verbatim or reproduced by you.
2. "Reply to the Suspension of Constitutional Liberties" is our formal answer to the latest acts of the Guatemalan government; it contains the first announcement for an "Assembly of the People", a strictly notional body which SHERWOOD may use on a larger scale in the immediate future.
3. "No more distribution of land, but Kolkhozes" is another attack on the agrarian reform, using a black technique to expose what is basically the true intent of the communists -- fully collectivized agriculture.
4. "Defections from Armed Forces; Advise against flight of soldiers and civilians" is an appeal to limit flight into exile or into foreign embassies to the absolutely inevitable minimum -- an appeal which has become obviously necessary because of the events of the last two weeks. Note that we specifically exempt air force pilots and similar personnel from that appeal: their defection remains a high priority objective.
5. All these English-language texts are staff-written originals: the actual text of the broadcast is not necessarily a verbatim translation of this original text but may be somewhat modified by the WSBURNT personnel in our SHERWOOD editorial team.

[ ]  
JEROME C. LONCAR

Attachments (3)

JCD/EFL/a

12 June 1954

Distribution:

2 - GUAT (w/att)  
2 - [ ] (w/att)  
2 - [ ] (w/att)  
2 - WASH (w/att)  
5 - LINC (w/att)

~~SECRET~~  
PBSUCCESS/RYPAT

(Reply to the Suspension of Constitutional Liberties)

FANFARES.  
ANNOUNCER:

You are going to hear now a historical decision adopted last night by the National Liberation Committee, assembled in extraordinary, secret session only a few miles from the National Palace, under the very noses of Arbenz' spies and communist agents. This decision is of the utmost importance. It affects the lives and the future of every one of you, it affects the immediate future of our country. Listen therefore carefully and repeat this message to all your relatives, friends and neighbors - especially to those who serve in our armed forces or who are employed by the Arbenz regime and may therefore be prevented from listening to us now.

You hear now the speaker of our National Liberation Committee.

FANFARES.  
SPEAKER:

"The National Liberation Committee, representing all major groups of the loyal population of Guatemala who has remained faithful to our constitutional liberties, to our beloved homeland and to the precepts of Christianity, in the face of an arbitrary regime which has allied itself with the foreign power of godless communism, has met in extraordinary session to define its stand after having been confronted with the latest outrages of the Arbenz-Fortuny regime.

"The National Liberation Committee, after listening to its legal, diplomatic and military advisers and to reports from certain of its observers in the government, the army and the communist orb,

has adopted the following decisions which are now being announced to all of our fellow-citizens by the powerful means that the dictatorship has not been able to muzzle, the Voice of Liberation which has successfully evaded the clutches of the local police as well as of the foreign agents who assist Arbenz, Fortuny & Co. in their nefarious enterprise.

"1. The Arbenz-Fortuny regime, instead of answering to the people for the innumerable violations of the letter and the spirit of our constitution which have driven our country to the verge of civil war as well as international war with our neighbors into whose internal affairs they have intervened with assassination plots, arms smuggling, subversive propaganda and the fomenting of political strikes, has now seen fit to abolish the constitutional liberties altogether, thereby hoping to silence the voice of the opposition completely. Nobody who is familiar with communist methods the world over believes for one moment that this is only a temporary measure, limited to 30 days. The Arbenz-Fortuny dictatorship has closed down our constitutional institutions, free elections, free speech, free press and radio, due process of law, fully determined never to reopen them again, thus starting rapid transition to an undisguised system of full-fledged communist dictatorship.

"2. The Arbenz-Fortuny regime has thereby destroyed the legal foundation on which it has climbed into power. By disregarding the letter as well as the spirit of the constitution on the basis of which Arbenz and the National Congress have been elected, by boldly breaking article 32 which prohibits parties with foreign

and international ties and being instead governed by such an illegal and anti-constitutional party, the regime has become entirely illegal, its continued power based on brute force but no longer on law, every day of its further existence an outrage against the traditions, the liberties and the constitution of our country, as well as a provocation against our friends and neighbors throughout the Americas.

"3. The National Liberation Committee therefore proclaims the office of the President of the Republic to be vacant and the usurper, Jacobo Arbenz Guzman an outlaw, to be punished by a people's court. It declares the National Congress to be dissolved since it no longer follows the people's mandate but orders from Moscow. The oath of allegiance which the officers and soldiers of our armed forces, civil servants and government employees have sworn binds them to our constitution but not to the orders of those who have betrayed the constitution and usurped national offices under false pretenses: Officers and soldiers of our armed forces, civil servants and government employees, you are hereby relieved from any and all obligations to obey orders from the outlaw Arbenz and his accomplices! On the contrary, it is your duty to uphold the constitution, to refuse to carry out illegal, criminal and other orders or assignments which are detrimental to the best interests of our beloved homeland.

"4. Continued rule by the outlaw Arbenz-Fortuny regime, relying on the police under comrade Cruz Ler, the Guardia Judicial under comrade Jaime Rosenberg, workers and peasant shock troops under comrades Montenegro and Castillo Flores as well as guerilla bands

of foreign communists, of the Caribbean Legion and Soviet "technicians" cannot be tolerated. The National Liberation Committee is therefore convening an Assembly of the People to fill the void created by the outlawry of Arbenz and his accomplices and to re-establish the constitutional machinery to restore our liberties. Invitations for the first meeting of this Assembly of the People have already been issued by safe means and we expect it to meet very soon, organizing the people's uprising against the traitorous dictatorship in a democratic, peaceful but determined manner.

"5. Pending the decisions of the Assembly of the People, we remind all fellow-citizens that the Arbenz regime is illegal and that anybody who cooperates with the present government, Congress, police, courts or with the Communist Party and its subdivisions runs the risk of being held responsible for their crimes, too. The National Liberation Committee hereby proclaims a campaign of civic disobedience against this outlaw regime: do not follow its orders, do not answer its questions, do not obey its summonses, do not pay its taxes! On the contrary, everybody who is in a position actively to oppose the criminal activities of this outlaw regime, must begin to do so at once:

We expect our loyal army to bring all weapons who are now in the hands of communist shock troops and other subversive elements under its custody immediately;

We expect all transport workers to refuse shipments of communist arms, shock troops, agents and other subversive materials and to report any such shipment to the nearest army post as well as to the local Liberation Committee;

We expect all loyal members of the police and of the Guardia Judicial to refuse the subversive orders of their communist superiors, to warn the intended victims of new reprisals and to make a clear-cut stand on the side of the people;

We expect everybody who cannot take a more active part in our fight for liberation, at least to report any suspicious communist activity to the nearest Liberation Committee, to boycott all communists, individuals and institutions and to join us in prayers for an early liberation of our country from the godless communist invasion!

"6. The National Liberation Committee appeals to all patriotic compatriots to achieve the struggle against the communist usurpers and traitors with speed, determination and good discipline. Listen to all our further messages which will reach you primarily through the Voice of Liberation. Await the instructions from our local and regional representatives. If Arbenz, Forriello, Panjul and a few other high-placed traitors want to flee (we are well aware of their preparations for this purpose), do not stop them - except to make sure that they do not take valuable national property along into exile: we don't want their empty heads, we only want to rid our country of their criminal rule!

"For God, Truth and Freedom. United for the Liberation of our country!"

NATIONAL AIRTEL.  
ANNOUNCER:

You have just heard a very important message from the National Liberation Committee. Read the decisions and pass on this message

to all your relatives, friends and neighbors - especially to those  
in the Armed Forces and the government services who might have  
been prevented from listening to us now.

We shall repeat this message at .....

No more distribution of land, but Kolkhozes (Soviet Farms):

One of our most reliable friends had accepted, some time ago, at our urgent request and with understandable reluctance, an important position in the inner circles of the Communist Party (PCT). This friend - whose merits in the cause of our liberation shall be publicly acknowledged very soon - has brought us yesterday the following information which will be of special interest to our campesinos, but ought to be noted by all our other listeners as well.

In the last meeting of the leaders of the PGT, a few days ago, the Cominform political commissar from Prague (who dwells in our midst in the guise of a salesman of Czech machinery) explained to the comrades the grave concern of Moscow with the state of the agrarian reform in our country. This unconditional doling out of land tends to create a class of independent small farmers - the type of people whom the Russian Bolsheviks call "Kulaks" (well-to-do peasants) and whose extermination throughout Russia cost them years of persecution, deportation and mass murder. Furthermore, these independent small farmers are even today the greatest obstacle to the successful completion of communist society in the satellite countries, in Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, and so forth.

Here in Guatemala, however - Comrade Smoilov explained (we wonder whether this is his true name, but it's the name under which he was introduced at the first meeting in which he participated, some weeks ago) - the danger of creating and strengthening a class of independent farmers is even greater than it was in Russia and Eastern Europe: our campesino, regardless of race, is a staunch



individualist, unwilling to be regimented and ordered around by a bureaucrat; furthermore, in most cases, he is a faithful Catholic and views therefore all communist experiments with grave distrust.

Smoilov acknowledged that in the "first phase of the colonial revolution" (as he calls it), which the communists had so successfully managed to get started in our country with the help of Arbenz and other traitors and dupes, only individual distribution of land would have been possible. He pointed out that this had been the first step in the glorious Russian October revolution, too - the step which made the masses of Russian peasants at least passively support the Bolsheviks. However, learning from the Russian, Chinese, Polish, Hungarian etc. experiences, the communists in Guatemala must not let so much time pass, must not allow an independent farmers class to grow too strong and must therefore proceed to the next step, the collectivization (socialization) of agriculture as quickly as possible.

At this point of Smoilov's lecture, a few of the comrades present, notably Gutierrez and Pellecer, dared to question whether the economic situation permitted already such a further step, pointing out that the distribution of land had so far only covered a fraction of the country, that the new settlers had to be provided with crop loans and farming equipment first, and so forth.

Smoilov retorted sharply (obsequiously supported by Portuný, Monzon and Martinez) that this was a typically economist deviation, that a communist must never make day-by-day economic considerations his supreme guide but must subordinate economic measures to the paramount political goal. He reminded his listeners that Moscow

had selected Guatemala as the focal point for extremely important political and military activities throughout the Western Hemisphere; that the time table for these plans did not permit any delay in making the domestic situation in Guatemala a strong enough basis for these external activities; and that therefore the growth of a potentially hostile independent farmer class must be stopped at once. He also mentioned that under the present system most of the additional income derived from new farms goes into private hands who use it largely for luxury goods or in any case for their personal consumption, thus leaving the treasury of the Guatemalan government at a dangerously low ebb.

No further questions were raised in the meeting after this peremptory statement by the Political commissar who represents Moscow's power in our country today. The meeting adopted quickly a resolution - drafted by Martinez - which fully endorsed the views expressed by Smollov and decided that the present suspension of all constitutional liberties offered a particularly suitable chance to carry out the required steps: Land already distributed shall not be taken away again at once, but instead of granting the new farmers individual loans, the government is to establish "Machine Tractor Stations" in the Soviet pattern from where the farmers may borrow the required tools and machines - which will bring them into increased dependence from the DAN bureaucracy. The necessary tractors and other farm machines to equip these stations will be furnished by Russia as payment for Guatemala's coffee crops which shall no longer go to the North American imperialists. A Political

Commissar is to be attached to each such station and only politically "reliable" farmers shall receive any benefits.

Distribution of land to individuals shall be slowed down and soon discontinued altogether. Future recipients of land shall be made to sign a pledge which will subject them to close DAF economic as well as political control and to compulsory deliveries of certain shares of their crops (intended primarily for the sustenance of communist shock troops, of the increasing numbers of foreign communist "technicians" stationed in our country, etc). Establishment of "farming cooperatives" under close government control as the first step towards a fully sovietized system of Kolkhozes (collectivized farms) is to be pushed as quickly as possible and on the largest scale practicable.

Campeſinos, we have just told you what the communists - whom the treachery of Arbenz, Toriello, Fanjul & Co has permitted to become masters of our beloved homeland, even though they are still only a small minority - plan to do with you, with your land, with your freedom. Are you going to wait passively to be made into a Kolkhoz slave, working from dawn to night under the whip of a political commissar - or will you fight with us to liberate our country from the communist invaders?

(Defections from Armed Forces; Advice against flight of  
soldiers and civilians)

Numerous officers and soldiers of our Armed Forces, unwilling to serve the communist traitors Arbenz-Fortuny & Co any longer, have arrived during the last few days in neighboring countries. Much as we appreciate this gesture of protest against the shameful betrayal of our country and of the honor of our Army by the communists and their dupes, we feel bound to make the following urgent appeal to all loyal officers and men in our armed forces:

Do not abandon the army to the communists. Stay where you are and help us to maintain the Army as the safeguard of our constitution and our liberties: this will become impossible if all anti-communists leave their posts. Only individual officers or men who are either in immediate danger of being arrested and tortured under trumped-up charges have the moral right to flee. Moreover, those officers and men who, by leaving their military posts, can make a substantial contribution to our liberation movement - for instance, pilots who fly a plane to a place where it can no longer be misused by the communists (for instance, to machine gun anti-communist assemblies or parades - or to bring criminals or their loot to safety outside our country, as the day of reckoning approaches) have a good, even a compelling reason to go. All others, however, must maintain patriotic discipline and stay where they are and must see to it that our loyal Army does not become a tool of the traitor Arbenz or of Moscow's agents behind him.

The same rule holds true of our civilian population as well. We urge all our friends throughout the country: do not take to

flight, either leaving the country or seeking asylum in a foreign embassy, unless you are immediately threatened not only by temporary arrest, but by cruel persecution and torture - under which you might endanger others in our liberation movement.

Even if you must fear arrest under the arbitrary and lawless methods of the Arbenz-Fortuny dictatorship, do not leave the country or seek asylum unless it is absolutely inevitable. Rather go into hiding, change your residence, change your identity - join even one of the Mobile Brigades of our Liberation Movement in the mountains: but do not abandon your country in the time of her direst plight. Stay where you can take an active part in the struggle for our liberation, where our instructions can reach you.

The people who have every reason to flee are on the other side: the Arbenz, Toriello, Panjul and their accomplices who must disappear very soon, if they want to save their ill-gotten gains or even their bare lives in the face of the mounting wrath of our outraged people. We, however, the people fighting for our freedom, our country, our churches against the dictatorship of godless communism - we must not leave the sacred soil of our homeland, except for the most compelling reasons - and even then only for a short while, to mislead the enemy agents and torturers.

We repeat to all our friends, to all non-Communists in the Armed Forces as well as among the civilian population: do not leave our country on the eve of its liberation! Stay where you are, fight back! Do not let the Army and the other basic institutions of our homeland fall defenseless into the hands of our worst enemies!